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[Mr. R. A. Graham]

have no effect in cheapening the clothing of the poor or reducing for them the cost of living; whereas an improvement of our provincial resources is imperatively needed if we are to make any progress in the spread of knowledge and the amenities of civilization among our own people.

"I cannot forecast what will be the trend taken by the debates in this House later on in the week; but I hope it will be kept in mind how obviously it is to our advantage that the Finance Bill of the Government of India should go through without material alteration and that their resolution on the subject of the contributions should be passed; and whatever criticisms may be levelled against the budget, whatever differences of opinion there may be on other points of policy, I trust that, both in the Council and outside, there will be such a strong and unanimous expression of opinion on this matter as to show our representatives at Delhi that there is no lukewarmness or weakness here. The responsibility will lie with them, and they are not likely to treat it lightly; and they will be heartened by an assurance that we shall accord full recognition to the steadfastness with which they will have to reinforce their patriotism if they are to stave off all attempts, direct or indirect, to diminish or retard the rectification of the injustice from which we have so long suffered. (Applause.)

NON-OFFICIAL BUSINESS.

V

MOTIONS ON MATTERS OF GENERAL PUBLIC INTEREST.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

The discussion of the following motion of Rao Bahadur C. Natesa Mudaliyar, adjourned on 7th February 1925, was resumed:—

'That this Council recommends to the Government that at least 40 per cent of posts in both the "Lower" and "Upper" grades of the services under Government be reserved to the non-Brahman Hindus, 10 per cent to the depressed classes, 15 per cent to the Muhammadans, 10 per cent to the Indian Christians, 10 per cent to the Brahmans, the rest for the representation of other communities, and for recruitment by competitive examinations.'

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR:—"Sir, I beg to move the amendment of which I have given notice, to the motion made by my hon. Friend Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar. My amendment stands as follows:

'For all the words occurring after the word "Government" in line 1, substitute the following:—

"that a committee of this House be appointed to inquire and report as to the working of the policy laid down by the Government in G.Os. Nos 658, dated 15th August 1922 and 76, dated 6th February 1924, and to suggest means to effectively provide for giving preference to competent candidates from communities which have not their due share of appointments in public service until the existing inequalities are removed"

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" Sir, the resolution which has been moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Natesa Mudaliyar, refers to a matter which unfortunately is agitating this portion of the country for nearly the last forty or fifty years. It is very unfortunate, Sir, because it stands in the way of mutual understanding and retards the movement towards the goal which every one of us wants to attain as early as possible. On account of these differences there is want of confidence and naturally each side or each community does not trust the other. The community that is bottom—most and that naturally feels most at the present moment is the community of the depressed classes. That community, as we have been seeing, has no confidence either in the Brahmans or in the non-Brahman Hindus of the higher classes. They feel that they have suffered too long already and any adjustment in which they are not assured a fair treatment and given their proper share of influence is really to end ultimately in depressing them further. It is this feeling which makes them look askance at other communities whenever they make proposals for furthering self-government or for improving the administration by Indianisation of the services and other proposals. It is indeed an unfortunate state of things. And I do not believe that it will be fair to lay the blame wholly at the door of the Brahman or the non-Brahman Hindu or the depressed classes themselves. Each has got his own share of the blame to bear. When people belonging to other countries and speaking other languages came here to rule over us, it is but quite natural that the literary class who could adapt themselves to the changed conditions more easily took advantage of the position and got the best in the ranks of Government service both administrative and judicial. I say it is but natural; and once they have got a footing, it is but natural again that they should try to take further advantage of that position. Any community will do it. Any community which has been placed in a similar position will certainly try to better its position and prospects. That is exactly what has taken place in our country. Well, Sir, the other communities which were not so adaptable naturally suffered and the result has been those who had the vantage of first entry have been speeded up but those who first suffered lagged behind more and more.

" This question of appointments no doubt looks as a very mean and low sort of thing to talk about. It is said, Sir, that it is a question of jobocracy. I am very sorry that a prominent member on the other side of the House who holds in several respects on this question opinions not very different to my own has given expression in one of his public speeches to a view that is likely to be objected to on all sides of the House. He exclaimed, Sir, that it is a sort of jobocracy—no doubt, he does not want to call it a jobocracy for the individual but it is for the community. That is how he put it in his speech. I do not for a moment countenance that view of the question. If it is only a matter of jobocracy, if it is only a matter of getting a few more jobs for the community, that is certainly a thing which should not be supported. Sir, the fundamental idea of jobocracy is the preference of the individual on account of the relationship that exists between the giver and the taker of the office. The fundamental principle underlying that word jobocracy is the individual relationship that exists between the giver and the taker. If that is going to be the idea that ought to actuate anybody in power or influence I should certainly say that it should not be supported by any section of the House. But that is not the real idea at all. I urge, Sir, that this readjustment, the rectification of this communal difference

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should proceed on the basis of right and justice. We are asking for self-government; we are asking for more Indianisation. What is the meaning of these demands? The meaning is that there ought to be every opportunity for the people who are governed to settle the ways in which they should be governed. If only certain communities on account of historical antecedents are in a position of vantage and if other communities are not able to change or influence the policy of the administration to the same extent to which certain communities can do, I beg to submit that that will not be self-government. It will probably be the introduction of a class rule to which the hon. Member, Mr. Veerian, as representing the depressed classes, has been objecting and rightly too in this Council. It is a matter of right for every body who is governed to take his own share not only in sending to this Council a representative but also in the actual administration of the country. And it is on account of that, Sir, that I deem it a matter of right that there should be a proper distribution of the administrative offices among the communities.

"In a poor country like India the question does not even stop there. In other countries probably there are several walks of life open to people and probably Government service does not command the same position and influence as, for instance, being a merchant prince or anybody else. Unfortunately for us here the thing is far different. Here an officer is socially a predominant being. If you go to a village, the village gods are the Sub-Inspector of Police or the Tahsildar. They are persons before whom even the biggest man in the village is nothing. The biggest man cannot afford to quarrel with these little gods that sway the life of the small locality. The same is the position even in big places like Madras. The position of a Member of Government is in no way less than that of probably the President of the Chamber of Commerce. So, Sir, socially speaking, office in India gives a sort of status which by itself is worth having by communities which are backward. If all these offices are going to be concentrated in one or two communities, the result will be that the other communities will suffer socially. And in a poor country like India the economic consideration is not one that can be left out of account altogether. Government is an employer of a large army of persons. Government service absorbs a very large number of what we may call employees from the middle classes. The question is if all these appointments are going to be used for the purpose of finding employment for all persons equally or if they are going to be a preserve for one or two classes. That is the difficulty, Sir, which has got to be met.

"So, I beg to submit, Sir, that from all these points of view, both political and economic, it is absolutely necessary—and I think
 1 p.m. it ought to be possible—that all communities should have their proper share in the public services of the country. Otherwise, the result will only be what we have already experienced so long, namely, that the non-Brahman communities will be far behind the other community, the Brahman community. And also, Sir, politics as understood in India has been mainly the concern of persons holding offices and the members of their communities who are swaying the opinion of the country. Well, Sir, all over India we find these literary classes coming forward and taking part in the national movement for the purpose of getting power into the hands of the people themselves. It has been repeatedly said that Madras is the one province in which we have got the communal problem. It has been said that

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Madras is conservative. It has been said that Madras is backward. It has been said that Madras is not so national as other provinces. Well, Sir, what is the reason? The reason to my mind is very plain indeed, namely, that in Madras there is this cleavage, that is, those who know politics, those who dabble in politics are not the masses, are not the large body of the people, but only a few classes at the top. And there is the natural result that those others look askance at these people who lead, and they are not quite prepared to share their views fully with the result that we have not got the same sort of national movement with the same sort of following as in other parts of the country. Well, if that state of things is to disappear and if all of us could feel together and there could be a common movement in which everybody would take part, then also I beg to submit that it is absolutely necessary that there should be no sort of reservation, as it has practically amounted to, of all these Government appointments and of the political life to one or two communities. For all these reasons, Sir, it is that I for one thought fit to support the movement that has been started seven or eight years back for giving expression to this feeling which was existing no doubt for the last thirty or forty years though not expressed to the same extent to which it has been in this Council, and for some years before this Council came into existence, in the press and on the platform of this country. Well, Sir, since then this question has been considered in various phases, and from the very nature of it it is not easy to find a solution for this problem. The problem is no doubt well understood, and the equity of it, the justice of it, has no doubt been admitted by most of the gentlemen who would be affected by any changes in the policy that may be followed in pursuance thereof. I ought to say that in justice to those gentlemen. But at the same time, Sir, it is not so easy to find a solution for this problem. There are two matters to be considered in this connexion: one is, what are we to do with the people who are already in office? It is very easy to say that we ought to have our proper proportion of appointments for each community in every department. That is certainly what we want, but then, how are we going to achieve it? At the present moment each department has got a number of offices and there are officers filling those appointments. Are you going to say the moment we come to an understanding that all these people should clear out? That I do not think is the position of anybody here. At the same time, are we to wait for ever? For instance, it is said that everybody that enters the service enters it with the expectation of coming to the top of that service. For instance, it has been argued, I know, in certain circles that every Assistant Collector will be entitled so long as he is in service to see that all the executive posts that are available during the time he enters the service should be continued so long as he is in service. Similarly it may be said that anybody who enters the Revenue Department on Rs. 35 a month may say that he ought to be able to reach the Collector's post. So from the post on Rs. 30 up to the post of Collector, every office should be open to him and nobody should be recruited either directly or indirectly in the interval so as to take away his chance. A claim like that can be made with the inevitable result that for the next 30 or 40 years nothing can possibly be done to rectify the inequalities that have sprung up. Well, these are the two considerations. We have to find out some means of making the policy we want really effective, but at the same time we should not do any very gross injustice to the people already in service. That is the problem that has to be solved by us and the Government at the instance of this Council has passed two orders with reference to this matter. They accepted the principle that has

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been enunciated in reference to this matter in the Council and they passed the two orders which are mentioned in the amendment of which I have given notice. Well, with what result? The complaint with regard to this matter has not been met even to the least extent. Each officer who has got to administer this Government Order has taken it to mean whatever he likes. He did not think that he was bound to act in any particular way, with the result that I am told that in certain districts there is a complaint on the part of the officers already holding appointments about the way in which they have been treated, while in other districts, there is the other complaint, the counter-complaint that the Government Orders have not been observed, and the position is, if anything, worse than before, because some officers are understood to have said that non-Brahmans are asking for appointments but that they are not competent to hold them. In addition to their not being given the appointments, this new excuse of incompetency also is being thrown at their head for the purpose of keeping them down as before. That has been the position. So far as the working of these two Government Orders is concerned, there seem to be complaints from both sides and they have not given satisfaction to anybody. That is the position in which we stand to-day.

"Then with reference to the Staff Selection Board, there again, Sir, there was the same difficulty. There were several questions put with reference to it in this Council and the answers that were given were not always found satisfactory. It has been said that the hands of the Staff Selection Board could not be bound in any way, and it was also said that the communal Government Orders were communicated to them (Staff Selection Board) and I suppose the natural inference is that if the Staff Selection Board chooses not to pay heed to the communal Government Orders the Government can do nothing in the matter. That seems to be the inference that has to be drawn from that circumstance. Anyway we find, Sir, that we are nowhere nearer the solution of this difficult and urgent problem of this province than we were some two or three years back. It is absolutely necessary, if there is to be any sort of quiet or peace in this province and if there is to be any sort of confidence among the several communities, that some sort of understanding ought to be come to with reference to this matter. A rough and ready system as proposed by my hon. Friend Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar does not seem to be a possible method. To say that 40 per cent should go to one community, 30 per cent to another and so on is a principle, Sir, which cannot be worked at all. If you say 40 per cent, I may ask '40 per cent of what?' Is it 40 per cent of the vacancies that are going to be created, or 40 per cent of the appointments already there? If you are going to say 40 per cent, on what basis are you going to calculate? Are you going to take the whole service, or service in each district, or each department, or particular offices, or are you going to take the whole Government service as one? These are difficulties which are bound to face us when once we get into the practical arena to solve this problem. It seems to me, Sir, that it is absolutely necessary that the matter ought to be re-examined with a view to attaining some final result, but not simply for shelving the matter for the moment since the question is raised, or on some other day simply finding a *via media* for the present just to tide over the resolutions that come up before the Council and then leave matters in their old state. That does not seem to me to be a satisfactory way of dealing with this

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question, because it is standing in the way of the political progress of the province. It is a matter in which not only the non-Brahmans as such or the Brahmans as such are interested, but it is a matter which concerns the political life of the province as a whole, and unless we solve this, I do not think there is any chance of our all working together and proceeding together towards that goal of self-government which we have all at heart. So, it is in that view that I have taken courage to move the amendment of which I have given notice, which is really of a wider nature than the resolution itself, that is, to have the whole policy that has been suggested, rather than that has been accepted by the Government in the two Government Orders, enquired into and then to come to a conclusion as regards the steps that should be taken to give effect to that policy in regard to this matter. Well, Sir, I may also say that this is not a matter in which there need be any difference of opinion. So far as my friends on the other side are concerned, this is a matter which appertains to a branch in which there is not much difference between them and myself. As regards my friends on this side, no doubt I know there are some members who do not see eye to eye with me in the matter, but at the same time, Sir, they have agreed to abide by the arrangement we insisted on and in the manifesto we have issued the very words found in my amendment have been used. This is the wording of the manifesto :

'The party stands for equal opportunities for all the communities in the Presidency and where in the distribution of public patronage gross inequalities have sprung up, preference shall be given to competent candidates from those communities which are affected until the inequalities are removed.'

I have used this very wording in the amendment of which I have given notice. And I find, Sir, most of the Brahman Members of this Council—I say *most* because there is the exception of one who is not a member of our party (Hear, hear)—have subscribed to this manifesto."

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—"Let not my hon. Friend think that because a member does not belong . . ."

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI :—"Is it a point of order, Sir?"

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—"Yes. He has no reason to say that because a member is not one of his party his opinion is not entitled to respect." (Laughter.)

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—"I am very sorry indeed, Sir, for what my hon. Friend has said, and it is very unfortunate that in this Council his speeches should give rise to an opinion of this sort. I never said that as he is not a member of our party his opinion is not entitled to weight. Certainly not. What I said was that most of the Brahman members of this Council agreed to the manifesto, and I used the word 'most' because there was an exception and I wanted to make provision for his being outside the party. He is entitled to have his own views, but I only said that the opinion of the majority of Brahman members of this Council was that the manifesto should be accepted. That is what I say and I do not go beyond that.

"Well, Sir, it is really unfortunate that, after the trouble we have had with reference to this matter in this Presidency for the last five or six years, when we were going to come to some sort of understanding in the matter—at any rate that was the opinion or expectation of

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myself and of several hon. Members on both sides of the House whom I consulted at the time I gave notice of this motion and who, I was very glad to find, expressed a general desire to come to an understanding on the matter. The hon. Member for Cuddapah should have intervened and made a speech which to my mind has rightly given provocation to several people.

"Well, Sir, he spoke of unemployment. Unemployment, Sir, is unemployment whether it refers to one community or another. If there is going to be unemployment in one community, certainly there is already unemployment in several other communities. It is an unfortunate thing that the standing complaint with several non-Brahman communities is that their boys do not study simply because they have no chance of getting any appointments in the service as Brahmans have. That is the complaint in non-Brahman families, and I am telling Brahma gentlemen here what happens in non-Brahman families. They say, 'what employment my boy is going to get? why should he study?'. So, Sir, is there any good in saying, as my hon. Friend does, that by adopting a policy of giving preference to communities which are unrepresented some Brahman gentlemen may not thereby get appointments hereafter? Is that a good sort of argument at all?

"Then my learned Friend said that there were shrotriyams and other things given to Brahmans in those days. It is rather unfortunate, and I suppose, Sir, the fault is, that shrotriyams were given in old days. Is it because one has taken shrotriyams in the past that it is his birthright to get them now also? So, I do fear, Sir, that the case has been made much worse by the speech unfortunately made by the hon. Member from Cuddapah the other day. He also threatened about anarchy, saying that if you do not give appointments to those boys of his community who pass, they will become anarchists. I do not know whether he has considered what will be the proportion of people of his community who will so turn anarchists to those of other communities if they were going to be denied appointments. The anarchists of the former class will be a very small number compared to the anarchists you will have from all other communities by the present policy. I must say that such arguments do not really advance the cause further, and I deprecate the use of such language and such arguments. Well, Sir, it is said the Brahmans have nothing else to do. This is again the argument used everywhere by people who have got some vested interest or other. Everybody says 'my capital is sunk in a certain thing, my people are employed in certain things, and we do not know anything else'. It is the right of everybody to have equal chances. Everybody ought to take a share of the things in the world as they are, and I do not see any reason why a particular venue of life should be specially earmarked for any particular community or class of people. It is against the very grain of democracy and democratic ideas which obtain at the present time. Even labourers now demand power in the west, and in most countries they have come to their own. I do not know whether in any western country the argument like the one advanced by the hon. Member for Cuddapah would not have been met with serious consequences. (Laughter.) That is the position as I find to-day. In these days of democracy, in these days of equal opportunity for all, to talk of one being used to certain things and certain things being reserved for certain classes and certain communities alone, I beg to submit, is out of date.

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I would only request my hon. Friends on both sides not to embitter feelings on either side by any speeches like the one we had. I would appeal to all to look at the question from the broader and from the more important and statesmanlike point of view, leaving smaller matters alone. With that appeal, Sir, I move my amendment."

Diwan Bahadur P. C. ETHIRAJULU NAYUDU :—" Sir, I have very great pleasure in seconding the amendment so ably moved by my hon. Friend from Coimbatore. The hon. the Mover of the amendment has, no doubt, in his anxiety to get justice done in a cause in which justice has been so long denied, worded his amendment very carefully so as to obtain a decision at once. But I think it is time, Sir, in view of the opposition that must naturally be expected from vested interests and also for the purpose of coming to a final and satisfactory solution of this very important question that a committee is appointed to consider this question from all points of view and make satisfactory and detailed recommendations for the adoption of all people concerned. As many hon. Members are anxious to speak on the subject, I would not take much of their time. With these few words, I heartily support this amendment moved by my hon. Friend Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I would call upon other hon. Members who have given notice of amendments to speak. But it will be understood that the House is now seized of this one amendment, and it will be reserved for the Chair at the end of this debate to put such of the other amendments to vote as survive the discussion."

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI :—" May I know from my hon. Friend, Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar, whether he is willing to accept the amendment moved ?"

Rao Bahadur C. NATESA MUDALIYAR :—" Let me wait and hear the discussion, Sir."

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—" I do not know whether you have decided as to our programme, as to whether we sit the whole of to-day or whether we sit to-morrow also."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" We do not sit to-morrow, of course."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—" Then, are we to sit the whole of to-day ?"

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" It is a matter in which I am prepared to abide by the sentiments of the House. Several hon. Members have engagements in the afternoon. As we decided last time that the rest of this day should be devoted to non-official business, I shall adhere to that understanding if the House is so minded. It is a matter left entirely to the House to consider."

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—" If Government will accept this amendment, I think the question will be solved."

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—" I do not think the hon. Member is entitled to ask it at present."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Let us adjourn for lunch now and reassemble at 2-30 p.m."

The House then adjourned for lunch.

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been enunciated in reference to this matter in the Council and they passed the two orders which are mentioned in the amendment of which I have given notice. Well, with what result? The complaint with regard to this matter has not been met even to the least extent. Each officer who has got to administer this Government Order has taken it to mean whatever he likes. He did not think that he was bound to act in any particular way, with the result that I am told that in certain districts there is a complaint on the part of the officers already holding appointments about the way in which they have been treated, while in other districts, there is the other complaint, the counter-complaint that the Government Orders have not been observed, and the position is, if anything, worse than before, because some officers are understood to have said that non-Brahmans are asking for appointments but that they are not competent to hold them. In addition to their not being given the appointments, this new excuse of incompetency also is being thrown at their head for the purpose of keeping them down as before. That has been the position. So far as the working of these two Government Orders is concerned, there seem to be complaints from both sides and they have not given satisfaction to anybody. That is the position in which we stand to-day.

"Then with reference to the Staff Selection Board, there again, Sir, there was the same difficulty. There were several questions put with reference to it in this Council and the answers that were given were not always found satisfactory. It has been said that the hands of the Staff Selection Board could not be bound in any way, and it was also said that the communal Government Orders were communicated to them (Staff Selection Board) and I suppose the natural inference is that if the Staff Selection Board chooses not to pay heed to the communal Government Orders the Government can do nothing in the matter. That seems to be the inference that has to be drawn from that circumstance. Anyway we find, Sir, that we are nowhere nearer the solution of this difficult and urgent problem of this province than we were some two or three years back. It is absolutely necessary, if there is to be any sort of quiet or peace in this province and if there is to be any sort of confidence among the several communities, that some sort of understanding ought to be come to with reference to this matter. A rough and ready system as proposed by my hon. Friend Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar does not seem to be a possible method. To say that 40 per cent should go to one community, 30 per cent to another and so on is a principle, Sir, which cannot be worked at all. If you say 40 per cent, I may ask '40 per cent of what?' Is it 40 per cent of the vacancies that are going to be created, or 40 per cent of the appointments already there? If you are going to say 40 per cent, on what basis are you going to calculate? Are you going to take the whole service, or service in each district, or each department, or particular offices, or are you going to take the whole Government service as one? These are difficulties which are bound to face us when once we get into the practical arena to solve this problem. It seems to me, Sir, that it is absolutely necessary that the matter ought to be re-examined with a view to attaining some final result, but not simply for shelving the matter for the moment since the question is raised, or on some other day simply finding a *via media* for the present just to tide over the resolutions that come up before the Council and then leave matters in their old state. That does not seem to me to be a satisfactory way of dealing with this

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facilities should be afforded and this suggestion stands to reason. If Brahmans have availed themselves of the educational facilities given in this country more than any other community and on account of their high educational progress have been largely recruited into the services by the authorities, it is not their fault. The fact was that they got into the departments because they deserved to get into them. Similarly, if Indian Christians have followed their noble example of sacrifice at the altar of education (Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai : 'Hear, hear') and if they have been given preference in services neither is it their fault for being preferred to the services. If, on the other hand, communities wealthy, strong and powerful have neglected the opportunities afforded to them all round for education, it is their own fault. They have been recruited in proportion to the neglect of the opportunities afforded them. I do not particularise this or that community. But it is only the law or the survival of the fittest. The fittest persons have got into the services and there can be no complaining against it. The main qualification and the only proper qualification for the services is education. On the other hand, there are communities which have been denied opportunities of taking advantage of these facilities and which have been subjected to social disabilities and the custom or the laws of the country, viz., the depressed classes. Now, it is not their fault if they could not avail themselves of these opportunities which were given to all classes. (Mr. R. Veerian : 'Hear, hear.') It is the over-reaching pride and the racial and occupational pride of the higher castes that was the reason for their present position. Therefore, Sir, I would urge that special concessions should be given to the depressed classes. That is, the minimum of educational qualification should be exacted from them instead of the highest educational qualifications. I can illustrate this by example. For instance, if there is a post on Rs. 35 in a district court or a collector's office, for doing recording, registering and other drudgeries of the office, for such an appointment, a S.S.L.C. man would do as well as a graduate; and there were occasions when a graduate

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was not found as fit as a S.S.L.C. man. In a case like this, I think that if there are candidates from among the depressed classes, they should be given preference because they undeservedly have been subjected to various disabilities in the past. Subject to this principle and the two provisos proposed, I think my amendment of educational test as the main test of a community for being recruited into the services is a rational principle and will serve as a reasonable formula for the committee to be appointed to work on. With these words, I move the amendment that stands in my name."

Mr. R. SRINIVASAN :—"Sir, I rise to support the amendment brought forward by my hon. Friend Mr. Saldanha. In doing that, I will only say a few words. There are several men in the service at present having qualifications sufficient to enable them to discharge their duties. But whenever vacancies in higher grades occur, they are given to those who have higher qualifications, and thus these men have no opportunity of getting them at all. The other day I had a letter from a member of my community in Tanjore saying that he had put in 14 years' service and was competent enough to be promoted, but he was passed over because he did not possess certain qualifications. So, according to this resolution, there would be a certain percentage of posts reserved for the depressed classes. With these few words, I support the amendment."

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Mr. R. VEERIAN:—"Mr. President, Sir, in further support of this amendment, I wish to make the following observations. I personally thank my hon. Friend, Mr. Saldanha, for eloquently advocating the cause of the depressed classes. Sir, in the first place, I assure this hon. House that I am not at all a hater of any community; in fact I love each and every other community more than the so-called depressed classes; for I have already realized that only through love we could attain our object and can do wonders. Sir, there is one principle; and taking that into consideration I wish to say this much, that a particular community should not monopolise the whole field of appointments in the public service. There will be a great danger, Sir, in the long run. If I may be permitted to say so, the whole reins of Government are in the hands of a particular community. I am sure, Sir, there is no democratic principle in that. We always clamour for Home Rule or Swaraj. But where is the democratic principle? Can we ignore that? We say that there should be competent persons. But how to get competent persons? Can you get competent persons all on a sudden? One should come and serve for some time; it is only then that he would become competent. One should be not only God-fearing, but he must be just, bold, straightforward and honest. There is no use of being a competent man by simply pleasing the immediate superiors. I do not know why graduates are preferred even for inferior appointments. I have no idea of manufacturing graduates, but I have got an idea of producing graduates with common sense. I only plead that depressed classes should be encouraged by their being provided with appointments in the public service, either in the inferior or in the superior departments, requiring only a minimum qualification, as was said in the amendment so ably moved by my hon. Friend Mr. Saldanha."

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR:—"Sir, I am very sorry I have to oppose the amendment which has been proposed just now by Mr. Saldanha. He said something about some people making use of the opportunities presented to them, others not making use of them and that that was responsible for the present state of things. As regards the historical process, it is rather difficult to fix the blame on this community or that. Well, there would be differences of opinion with reference to that and each community rightly or wrongly lays the blame on the other community and not on itself. It seems to be a very slippery ground to proceed on that basis. Then, as regards the test, there are people who say that the population basis should be the only basis to be taken into consideration in fixing the proportion of appointments, that is to say the basis of equal opportunity for all. Then there is the other class of people who say that those who pay for the services ought to have proper representation in the services and that the payment of taxes ought to be the basis on which these appointments should be made. We have got, Sir, that famous minute—it may be considered infamous by others—which condemned the whole nation and said that the working hours, surroundings and other things ought to be taken into consideration in fixing the proportion of appointments. I refer, Sir, to that minute about which there was so much agitation in this country—the minute of Lord Curzon, which said that for a long time to come Indians were not capable of holding higher appointments. Such being the case, every one will adopt the test which he thinks ought to be applied to this state of things. I do not think it will be possible to fix the educational qualifications or rather the number of educated people in a community

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as the only basis that ought to be considered in fixing the proportion of appointments. It will be a very difficult question indeed for decision in a big assembly like this. No doubt, the committee that is going to be appointed will take that into consideration along with the other points which other people want to urge as tests for distribution of appointments in the services. All these matters will have to be considered by the committee and we cannot really bind the hands of the committee by laying down any such principles. So, in view of that, I would earnestly request my Friend, Mr. Saldanha, not to press his motion which would commit us to a particular test being applied to these matters and about which there are differences of opinion both here and elsewhere."

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—" May I ask the permission of the House to withdraw my amendment, because I find from the speech of my hon. Friend, Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar, that that principle should not be the only principle? The committee would of course discuss the various principles and I am sure I could lay before the committee my point of view. So, I withdraw my amendment."

The amendment was by leave withdrawn.

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—" Sir, I may be permitted to speak on the resolution. I would just follow your advice and speak on the resolution laying special stress on the suggestions made in my amendment. If necessary, I can move my amendment later on after I know definitely something about the resolution.

"So far as the general question is concerned, I am one of those who think that, in the interests of the country, this unfortunate and much debated question should somehow or other be settled, and there is no doubt that the earlier this is done, the better. That has been my view always and I hope that if a committee is appointed it will go into the question and suggest some useful remedies, so that there may not be any grounds for complaint in the future. Apart from the philosophy as to whether communal questions are good or not good, there is no doubt whatever, and it has been admitted on all hands, that our national progress has been very much affected by the Hindu-Moslem troubles in the north and Brahman-Non-Brahman controversy in the south. While attempts are being made by national leaders in the north to solve the Hindu-Moslem question, we should also try and do something to set at rest the Brahman-Non-Brahman differences (by non-Brahman, I mean all those who are not Brahmans according to the general term given by some of our friends). Therefore, it is desirable, so far as the future is concerned, that something must be done definitely, not by resolutions or other things, but if possible, by a compromise, by leaders meeting together and coming to some decision in this matter. I think that this resolution might have been worded a little more generally, without asking the Government to take any definite steps. It would be better even now, as some differences of opinion have been raised in various quarters, if the resolution is worded in a general way. However, the Government, I am sure, will look not only to the wording of the resolution but also to the speeches of gentlemen, including the gentleman who has moved this amendment, and I have no doubt that they will take all the amendments on the agenda to-day as well as the speeches made by various

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people into their consideration before appointing this committee. The one serious objection that I take to the wording of the resolution is this—the power that is to be given to this committee to enquire into the past working of the Government Order. We are all interested in seeing that communal feelings are put an end to as much and as far as possible and that no attempts are made to revive communal jealousies or communal feelings at all. My own humble opinion is that this enquiry, unlimited enquiry into the past, will rouse communal feelings in every taluk and every village to a very undesirable extent. What would be the position of Government, I ask, if this committee is to notify to people who have got grievances to come and say how this Government Order has worked? An Adi-Dravida may come and say that his claims have been overlooked by a Muhammadan being preferred. An Indian Christian candidate may come and say that he did not get

his proper promotion because a Muhammadan or a caste-Hindu Non-Brahman was preferred to himself and somebody in the office might be blamed for that. This will go on, and, what will be the result? Every dismissed man or every man who has been sent out as not capable to do the work allotted to him, will have an opportunity to come and say that he was sent out because the sarishtadar or the tahsildar, in fact every officer from the collector downwards, had an interest in sending him out. Further, Sir, what will become of the discipline in the service if every clerk who had not been given a promotion were to come and say all that? Sir, the word 'competent' in the resolution may include or exclude anybody. On account of this question of competency a man might come and say that his claims were not considered and that another less competent than himself was put in his place. What will be the position of the officer who appointed him or appointed another when this man gives evidence before the committee as to what had been done? The officer might be a collector who might have retired or he might be a civilian on leave. Will he be given an opportunity of denying the statements made by this man? I do not know if even the persons on whose behalf this resolution is brought forward, I mean the non-Brahman friends, would welcome it. For instance, supposing a clerk comes and says that his promotion had been improperly withheld, the officer complained against might say that that man was not given his due promotion because on enquiry he was found to be corrupt. It may be a suggestion or it may be a statement with no foundation whatever; still, such unpleasant allegations might be made which would not be desirable. My own idea is that if we go into the history of this question, if the committee suggested in this resolution is to enquire into the working of this Government Order it will only revive communal jealousies. Therefore I suggest that some confidential enquiry might be held to find out how this Government Order could have been worked better. The wording of the resolution seems to be most dangerous in the interests of the country and in the interests of the communities on whose behalf this resolution is brought forward. This is my serious objection to the wording of this resolution so far as the enquiry is concerned. Sir, the committee can very well take into its confidence some members from all communities and try to come to some understanding so that its report to the Government and to the Council might be a unanimous one. Of course, I know that some objection has been raised that for some reason or other qualified people from other communities have not been appointed and that only a few communities have been monopolising the

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appointments. To that I would say that we should decide that every appointment, subordinate, higher, intermediate, etc., should be filled up hereafter by turns between the several communities. For this purpose a competitive examination of the various candidates in a community might be held and a list kept of the eligible candidates for appointment in the Government here as well as in the district headquarters. There may be also other tests as suggested by Mr. Veerian. When this is done, it cannot be said that the claim of any person of a particular community has been overlooked. That will put an end to the great feeling that now exists. Even among the various communities in whose interest the Government Orders were passed, there seems to be a strong feeling that after all appointments even among non Brahmins are not being made in the spirit of the Government Orders but on grounds of favouritism. I am not here to say whether there is any justification for that complaint or not. It is very difficult to go into this question. It may be or it may not be in the interests of the people whose interests we want to safeguard. There have been some such aspersions as I mentioned and it seems to me that all these may be put an end to by holding an examination in the manner suggested by me and filling up the vacancies by turns between the communities. A committee or some public service commissioners may be appointed to carry out the suggestions made here. We will be doing an immense good to the country if we once for all put an end to these quarrels and determine the claims of the various communities for appointment whatever their qualifications may be. Having invested large sums of money on education, to some extent at least, whether rightly or wrongly, hopes were held out to them and those hopes should be realized. There is a large number of young men among Brahmins who have been educated at great cost. That has to be taken into consideration. I do not say that all of them should be given appointments, but I say that this is a factor which should be taken into consideration in fixing the proportion of appointments to be given in turn to the various communities. Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar said that the non-Brahmin community is the biggest community in our Presidency and he pointed out to its taxpaying capacity as one of the grounds for a larger share in the appointments. If that be so, let it be so decided once for all. There is the Muhammadan community, the Indian Christian community, the Anglo-Indian community and the Adi-Dravida community. What is to be their share of the appointments? In this connexion I might refer to what the Bombay Government have done. They have done a very good thing recently to put an end to these troubles by saying that once for all they would make an experiment by giving a large number of appointments say 30 or 35 per cent in the lower ranks to the Adi-Dravidas and other depressed and backward classes. I say that some such thing might be adopted by this committee to fix once for all the proportion of appointments to be given to each community.

"Sir, I have to refer to one other point. The committee should say that people who have entered the service should not be made to suffer. That is a point which we cannot ignore. In the case of European officers we have over and over again admitted that whatever we might do should affect only future recruitment and should not affect the present incumbents in the least. There is no doubt on this point. Because, even at the time when the Lee

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Commission report was being discussed it was admitted by all people that simply because we want more Indian element in the services, people who are already in the service should not be made to suffer. It is in that view that I ask the House and the Government and the committee to look into this matter. People have joined the service in large numbers. There was a time when the non-Brahmans could have entered the service in large numbers but for some reason or another they did not do so. But in this matter of course I do not blame any one. The Government have given English education to the people simply for the purpose of carrying on the administration with the help of a set of clerks and in this way the best intellects of the country have been secured by the Government by promise of promotion later. I have always been saying that the Government should reduce the salaries of certain high posts so that the country at large might have an opportunity of getting the best intellects. It is most unfortunate that the trade, commerce and industry of the country suffer very much by the best intellects being monopolised by the Government."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"May I beg to raise a point of order, Sir? Is the hon. Member in order in referring to commerce, industry and other things? (Laughter.)"

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"It is not a point of order."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"It is with that object in view that I say that in our attempt to solve this problem we should not do anything to the detriment of the existing incumbents. I have no objection to direct recruitment for the various departments being made by getting the best people from every community by holding examinations for recruitment to the various branches of the service. I can understand the feeling of a man who has served for 25 years as tahsildar being made to serve a deputy collector who had been his clerk for some 20 years. I have heard of such things happening. A man who is not a favourite of some Executive Councillor or other might be made to suffer like that by his juniors being placed over him. All that may be a matter of sentiment. But then this could be avoided by making appointments by direct recruitment."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I am afraid the hon. Member is taking up very much more time than he is entitled to."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"Sir, if you will give me five minutes more I shall close. (Laughter) I would have got 30 minutes if I had moved my amendment. Anyhow I will finish, if you want, in four or five minutes."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I am not sure that by moving his amendment the hon. Member would be entitled to 30 minutes. It is only for main motions that half an hour is allowed. If the hon. Member would kindly close his speech at once he would be giving an opportunity to other hon. Members who are anxious to speak. It is with that view that I am appealing to the hon. Member."

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"I am entirely in your hands, Sir. I will wind up in a few minutes time. I was saying that whatever steps may be taken they should not be made to jeopardize the interests and

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the well-founded hopes of those who are in the service already. Otherwise what will be the result? If an officer is not encouraged for being honest he would be inclined to become dishonest and the efficiency of the service will suffer very much. Therefore in the case of the people who entered service at a time when others were not forthcoming nothing should be done which would have an injurious effect. Sir, I may mention that two relations of my hon. Friend Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar, very intelligent graduates, never cared to enter service. So that what I say is that not only a large number of people did not get education, but that educated people did not want to enter the service."

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR:—"Was any higher appointment offered to them in the same way as it was offered to the sons of Executive Council Members, High Court Judges, etc.?"

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"They did not make any attempt. Had they made any attempts they too could have got such appointments. I envy them, because they do not care for these Government appointments. When there is a new appointment created rules may be laid down that such appointments should not be given to people other than non-Brahmans subject to the qualifications of direct recruitment and otherwise. In this connexion I wish to quote one instance and that is in the case of a Divisional Office where every alternate promotion was given to a non-Brahman employed in that office, a non-Brahman clerk in that division came to the top within three years simply because he was the only non-Brahman. You can very well understand the feelings of other gentlemen over whom their junior was promoted, simply because the latter was the only non-Brahman in that division. I submit that the committee might very well go into these questions and come to a satisfactory conclusion."

Rao Bahadur O. TANIKACHALA CHETTIYAR:—"I have much pleasure in supporting the amendment moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar and accepted by Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar. Sir, if there is one thing more than another about which this House has from time to time expressed itself very strongly it is on the question of communal representation and the steps to be taken to redress the grievances which have arisen owing to the absence of such representation. I had the honour of moving in the first Council in the year 1921 a resolution on this subject. Before the resolution was moved I had the privilege of being invited by Mr. Knapp, as he then was, to come to an understanding not on any schemes of his or mine, but an understanding on the line which was recognized by the Government as early as the year 1850 onwards and he referred me to a Board's Standing Order of the year 1852 or thereabouts bearing No. 168-2. I see from the discussions that took place from that time the purpose of that Order was the proper distribution of appointments to several castes. So what does this Standing Order indicate? It indicates that as early as the year 1850 Government tackled this question of communal differences and communal jealousies and it was owing to that they provided a Standing Order which says that 'Collectors should be able to see that the subordinate appointments in their districts are not monopolised. Endeavour should always be made to divide the principal appointments in each district among the several castes.' Based upon this, the hon. Sir Arthur (then Mr.) Knapp suggested an

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amendment for acceptance by me and by the Members of this House and it was accepted. What was the amendment? It is this:

‘that with a view to increase the proportion of posts in Government offices held by non-Brahmans the principles prescribed for the Revenue Department in Board’s Standing Order No. 168 (2) be at once extended to all departments of the Government and be made applicable not only to the principal appointments but to posts of all grades and that the Government should issue orders accordingly and insist on their being enforced and that to this end half-yearly returns showing the progress made should be submitted by the head of each office. Such periodical returns shall be made available to the Members of the Legislative Council.’

“It was in pursuance of this undertaking that the G.Os. Nos. 658, dated 15th August 1922, and 76, dated 6th February 1924, were issued. There is another Government Order which is not referred to in this amendment and that is the Government Order which was issued in September 1921. In pursuance of that order—it was mistakenly worded—although it related only to permanent appointments, taking advantage of the ineffectual wording of the resolution when it was sent to the various heads of departments, it was not given effect to and the subordinate Government officials defeated the very purpose and the beneficial effects which that Government Order sought to achieve. Though that Government Order was issued in September, it was brought to the notice of the Members of the Legislative Council as early as December 1921 that it had not been given effect to, and I found that in the district of Salem great injustice was being done and this resolution was made the occasion for putting up many incompetent men who were found to be corrupt and dishonest and who were unfit for promotion on the ground that their cases were not covered by the Government Order and that this Government Order could not affect them because they were not acting appointments and so on. On the 3rd December 1921 I gave notice of a resolution that the Government Order issued in September 1921 ought to be modified. It was tabled before the budget, and when the budget season came all the resolutions lapsed for want of time but the resolution of which I gave notice had received the attention of the Government and the hon. Sir Charles Toddhunter had been specially stating that Government had issued another order, dated 15th August which is marked here as No. 658 and that it would satisfy the claims of other communities. But, Sir, things went on merrily and the Government were not able to solve the difficulties by scrutinizing all the attempts that were made to defeat the beneficial purposes of this Government Order. Sir, there was a lot of complaint which was recognized and it is in consequence of this that another device was brought into existence, viz., the Staff Selection Board. It has given little satisfaction. Government have been, as I said, devising a machinery so that inter-communal squabbles might be solved and although they have been attempting to remove such squabbles from the year 1852, they have been unsuccessful, but inasmuch as they have recognized the existence of such squabbles they have accepted this resolution which it was their sincere desire should be given effect to by their subordinates. They themselves were unable to do it and when they were called upon to revise the Government Order by providing sufficient checks and safeguards, all our representations were of no avail; ultimately the Government have devised the Staff Selection Board but, as I said, it has not been working satisfactorily. Sir, the Government have been saying ‘we have tried to do our best but we have been unsuccessful.’ What I now ask them is to leave the matter to the representatives of the people to settle it in their own

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way. They have done so in the case of local self-government and they have entrusted the affairs of the district, the taluk and the city to the representatives of the people, and they take the credit or the discredit for the management of those institutions, well or ill. Likewise I ask the Government to leave this matter to a committee to devise ways and means for giving effect to the good intentions which have been expressed in the Board's Standing Orders and also those which have been expressed in the other Government Orders issued from time to time.

"Sir, if there is one thing more than another it is clear from the various amendments of which notices have been given that, although they have not been moved, all are agreed on this matter—to whatever party they belong,—that a committee is required. There is my hon. Friend Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar, there is Mr. Ramalingam Chettiyar, there is Mr. Saldanha and there is Mr. Venkataramana Ayyangar and all of us are agreed on the appointment of a committee except the last mentioned gentleman. Of course there are differences of opinion. For instance, Mr. Saldanha thinks of selecting the candidates according to the educational qualifications prevailing in each community. I can understand the educational qualification possessed by each man, but educational qualifications alone might not put an end to all these troubles. I am unable to suggest any other device except the appointment of a committee of this House. I think this debate affords a splendid opportunity for the Government to say to the representatives of the people, 'We have tried our best to remove these defects; we are stated to have failed in our efforts and we will leave it to you to devise ways and means by which these difficulties might be removed at least in future'. My Friend, Mr. Venkataramana Ayyangar, said that in the working of this Government Order the status of the existing incumbents was considerably affected. I do not want to go into the details of the working of this Government Order and the attempts that were made to defeat the objects for which this Government Order was issued, and the beneficial results which would have been achieved had this Government Order been given effect to properly. The appointment of a committee, however unobjectionable and unpleasant it may be, might be done with suitable safeguards such as the inquiry being held in camera, and this will operate as a check against oppression by the superiors against whom their subordinates may have occasion to give evidence. Subject to such safeguards it is best that the evidence of those subordinates against their superiors who were responsible for the failure of the working of this Government Order and how they defeated the good intentions of this Government Order is taken by this committee, however unpleasant it may be to those who attempted to defeat the aims of this Government Order. It is therefore essential that ways and means should be found out and the best way of doing it is by taking evidence of those subordinates against whom injustice had been done in the way of promotion and otherwise. With these few words, I have much pleasure in supporting the motion moved by hon. Friend Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar."

* Mr. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR:—"Out of regard to the wishes of my party and in view of certain statements that fell from my hon. Friend who moved the amended resolution, I do not think it is necessary to move my amendment as a substantive motion. With your leave, Mr. President, and

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with the leave of the House, I wish to offer a few remarks on the resolution which is now in possession of the House. Some are of opinion that the question of appointment to public services may be left entirely to the discretion of the appointing authority who occupies the position of the employer and whose discretion ought not in any way to be limited or circumscribed by any considerations. Others are of opinion that the employer, whoever he may be, is but a servant of the public and that as he does not pay his employee out of his private funds but out of public funds he is bound to respect the wishes of the representatives of the people in this House. These are the two opposing and conflicting views on this question. Some are of opinion that representation in the public services ought to be fixed on the basis of population and on communal lines. Others are of a different opinion and they would like to have the proportion fixed on the percentage of education of communities. Between these two diametrically opposite sets of views it will be rather difficult to find an acceptable solution unless it be that persons holding divergent views meet on a common platform and try to come to a certain agreement. Unless this is done, it will give rise to a feeling of discontent which will operate to the detriment of certain other classes.

“In other words, it is necessary that something should be formulated
3-30 p.m. with a view to reconcile these two seemingly opposite forces.

So far as one community is concerned it is said that they are not having their legitimate share of appointments. That position must necessarily be conceded. But it seems to me—and the object of the hon. the Mover appears to be the same although I am of opinion that the position of that great community for the past four years has been much better than it was before—that there is a feeling in the minds of responsible leaders of the community that the pace is slower and that they have not got all that they are legitimately entitled to as quickly as they deserve. In other words, unless I have misunderstood the hon. the Mover, it seems to me that he is very anxious that the pace must be quickened and that there should be acceleration of speed to bring about that consummation. While I am in full sympathy with the claims and legitimate demands of the community for larger representation, I feel certain in my own mind that the acceleration must not be so rapid as to overtake much too soon persons who are already in service. It is that aspect of the case that I wish to lay stress upon.

“So far as the administration is concerned, the structure of administration ought to be sound. That is a proposition that must necessarily be conceded. The very idea of soundness connotes the correlative idea of efficiency as well. If, by means of any resolution, you think it necessary to force the hands of the Government and to compel them to adopt a particular policy for all time to come, I for one must think it my duty to raise my voice of protest against it. But on this matter, speaker after speaker has in no way failed to lay stress on the defence of efficiency, for the main grievance seems to be that in other unrepresented communities there are efficient men capable of running the administration who for some reason or other and for no fault of their own, are being kept in the background. But so far as one community is concerned which has a majority in the public service, the fault is not theirs, as the hon. Mr. Saldanha told us, because that community did not create appointments for themselves, and did not take the appointments for themselves but

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they only got appointments from somebody else. Whatever that may be, I do feel that unrepresented communities have a right to come up. To that extent I am in entire sympathy.

“But how to bring about that situation?—not by using, if I may say so, guillotine upon a particular community and to send them away all at once, but by successive stages.

“So far as efficiency is concerned, that is a term which is capable of being understood and construed in various ways. We know, as a matter of fact, that in the public service there are a large number of persons who have put in 15 or 20 years of service. I have absolutely no quarrel to new entrants being treated in a different manner so as to yield to the legitimate demands of other communities or to those who are to come hereafter. But in respect of those who have put in 15 or 20 years of service, who entered service under a different set of conditions in the hope that they would come to the top, in the hope that their services will be recognized on grounds of efficiency, merit and seniority, they ought not to be asked to wait and subjected to the humiliation of being compelled to submit themselves to being superseded by juniors far below them. The Government will be guilty of a breach of faith if they neglect the claims of a large number of persons who have put in 15 or 20 years of service and who have a right to expect increments and to have something to fall back upon, the moment they retire from public service.

“How are you going to bring about that state of things? It will be possible for the committee that is to be constituted to take into consideration these various circumstances and it will be incumbent upon the committee while making an honest endeavour in the direction of giving much encouragement to unrepresented communities, to take care to see that no kind of gross injustice is inflicted upon those who are already in service. If it is possible to devise ways and means which while recognizing the claims of unrepresented communities, will in no way operate adversely to the interests of those already in service, I would welcome the committee and also offer that committee such advice as in my humble power lies. But to ignore all these fundamental considerations, and to allow the communal consideration alone to occupy a prominent place and to assign a subordinate position to the existing efficiency and seniority, will be something to which it will be impossible for me to subscribe. But at the same time we are in entire sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of other communities and welcome the idea of a committee. The committee may be asked to report upon the working of the Government Order. The committee will have a heavy and onerous task before it, and while I welcome the committee and while I am for justice being meted out to unrepresented communities I equally stand for barest justice to other persons, as well who, in my opinion, are fully entitled to it.”

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM:—“I did not intend to speak now, but perhaps if I say a word or two it will clear the situation. The policy which the Government adopted is embodied in the amendment of Sir Arthur Knapp to Mr. O. Tanikachalam Chettiyar's resolution in September 1921:

“That with a view to increase the proportion of posts in Government offices held by non-Brahmins, the principles prescribed for the Revenue Department in Board's Standing Order No. 168 (2) be at once extended to all departments of the Government and be made applicable.

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not only to the principal appointments but to posts of all grades, and that the Government should issue orders accordingly and insist on their being enforced and that to this end half-yearly returns showing the progress made should be submitted by the head of each office. Such periodical returns shall be available to the Members of the Legislative Council.

"An order was passed almost immediately after for the purpose of carrying out that resolution. But as Mr. O. Tanikachalam Chettiyar has said, the wording of that order was defective and another order was issued in August 1922, namely, G.O. No. 658. G.O. No. 658 or the main principle of it, is that the Government

'recognize that, if the principal appointments are to be divided among the several communities, the lower appointments from which recruitment is made to them must be likewise divided, and are quite prepared to agree that, in order to give effect to this policy, other things being equal, the principle specified in the Board's Standing Orders should be given effect to both at the time of initial recruitment and at every point at which men are promoted wholly by selection and not by seniority.'

"As several hon. Members have pointed out, the working or perhaps the wording of this order has caused discontent for two opposite reasons. Several hon. Members seeing the periodical returns, which by the way have been issued yearly and not half-yearly, are surprised that, if the Government really meant to enforce the principle laid down, the composition of the public services should not have been already altered completely, so as to make a majority of non-Brahmans. On the other hand there are others who were afraid that the order was too stringent in its terms and tended to bring about, if it has not already brought about, injustice to individuals and decrease in efficiency in the services.

"To the first, I would suggest it is hardly reasonable to expect a lightning change. I do not think any one supposed that all the Brahmans in the public service were going to be immediately turned out and their places filled by other people. The number of vacancies that occur in a year is comparatively small in proportion to the total numbers in the services and any change that is brought about by an order of this kind must take years to show any very great effect. In the same way in the higher ranks I do not think that anybody supposes that every opportunity would be taken to supersede all the Brahmans merely because they were Brahmans. It would involve gross injustice to the individuals and ruination of the services.

"A good deal of the discussion to-day rather took the line that the object of the public services is to provide means of livelihood for members of this or that community (laughter). That is surely a mistake. It is the duty of the Government to provide for the working of the administration and it is their duty to see that this is done as efficiently and as economically as possible; that there are no more posts than are required, that they are paid sufficiently to attract men of necessary qualifications and that each man gives full value in work for what he is paid. I venture to think that none of these requirements is compatible with recruitment purely on a communal basis and still less, promotion on a communal basis. We should be failing in our duty to the tax-payers generally if we allowed considerations of caste to override entirely considerations of efficiency.

"The Government recognize that while they have made many attempts in the past to redress the complaints, there is still an undue predominance of Brahmans in public service. Therefore it is that in that order of 1922 a further enunciation of the policy was made and Government prescribed returns from which they might judge the manner

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in which their orders were being obeyed. Government took measures to inform themselves of the extent to which their orders were being obeyed.

"To the second class of critics I would say that while the order must tend to make the chances for the Brahmans less, it is only by some sort of preferential treatment that any sort of equality of opportunity can be afforded to the other classes (hear, hear). No one can blame the other communities for aspiring to get employment in different walks of life. This of course must result in a smaller number of Brahmans entering the public services and perhaps occasionally in the supersession of a Brahman where the choice is to be made between men of fairly equal merits. There is no intention that the claims of seniority should be systematically disregarded or that efficiency and good work should not receive its reward.

"Objection has been taken to some of the sentiments expressed by my hon. Friend, the Member for Cuddapah on the last occasion. With a great deal that he said I sympathise entirely (laughter). But when he gloomily prognosticated that the exclusion of the Brahmans from the public services would swell the ranks of the anarchists, I can only say that I hope he did not mean that the Brahman has a natural affinity to the anarchist (laughter). If his meaning is that educated youths who cannot get into Government service are likely to become anarchists, then I am afraid, as Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar pointed out, the danger from the non-Brahmans would be much more than from the Brahmans."

Mr. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR :—"Much more?"

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—"Possibly more.

"As in course of time the number of educated men increases while there can be no corresponding expansion of the Government service, a time will come when the majority of the adult population would be anarchists (laughter). If this is so, I shall be sorry for the Government of the time and still more so for the few people who are neither in Government service nor anarchists. I hope for better things. The struggle for existence is bound to become more intense and educated Brahmans have shown in their turn that they can encroach upon what has in the past been the preserve of other castes (hear, hear). There is no reason why the qualities which made them good and efficient public servants should not bring them success in other careers.

"Well, Sir, we have got rid of a large number of resolutions tabled originally recommending that 25 per cent of the appointments should be given to this community and 40 per cent to another community and so on. I think it must be quite clear that it is quite impossible to make such a rigid appropriation of appointments on proportions to communities. Some of the communities whose claims have been pressed are confined to particular parts of the Presidency while even of those which extend over the whole or a large area the proportions to the total population vary greatly in different parts. The majority of the appointments in Government service must be made locally, and no system of laying down a proportion is likely to give satisfaction to anybody. The local men feel that they have a right to the local appointments and there is a general disinclination especially in the lower ranks for a man to go very far off from his native place. It is therefore not only natural but necessary that the local authorities should take the pick of the local talent.

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"I take it that there is not much complaint about the policy laid down in G.O. No. 658. The complaint is that the visible results have not been sufficient. It must be admitted that the results in some offices and districts have been quite appreciable. As a means of correcting the tendencies of individual patronage, pending the formation of a Public Services Commission, we have constituted the Staff Selection Board which has come in for a great deal of unmerited obloquy, partly because hon. Members do not understand the object of it. The Staff Selection Board does not make appointments. When it was constituted it was instructed to bear in mind the principles laid down in the G.O. No. 658. I have every reason to believe that it has done so. Its function is to make selection from the applicants for Government service so as to ensure that only fit men shall be appointed. It is not part of its duty to see that no Brahman is admitted in the services, nor is that laid down as the duty of any authority. The actual appointing authorities have not been changed; they too are bound by the terms of the Government Order. Where the Staff Selection Board operates, the choice of the appointing authority is limited to the applicants selected by that Board. Unfortunately it has not been possible to extend the operations of the Board all over the Presidency. It has as much as it can to do at present with appointments at headquarters. In the Staff Selection Board lies the answer to the complaint that no member of the depressed classes or other unrepresented classes can now obtain employment in Government service, because owing to local influence his application is always turned down on the ground that he is incompetent. Any person can make his application to the Staff Selection Board. The Board will then satisfy itself whether he is competent and fit to be taken into Government service. If he is, it will include him in its list. And if the appointing authorities still refuse to take him in, then there is reason for complaint against them."

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI:—"May I know whether the Board recommends for all grades of appointments?"

* The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM:—"It does not at present. As I stated, its activities are at present confined to the Madras City. My hon. Colleague informs me that it covers appointments in the Police department all over the Presidency."

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR:—"May I ask one question, Sir? Suppose there are hundred applications before the Staff Selection Board from men of all communities and amongst these there are members of the depressed classes who are qualified persons, persons who have passed the B.A. Degree Examination and these persons are selected by the Board along with those of other communities with perhaps B.A. (Hons.) degrees, I want to know whether a chance is given to the men from the depressed classes or educationally backward classes by reason of the Staff Selection Board? Or does the Board merely submit to the Government or the appointing authority a list of all the names and they choose ten or fifteen persons who are most competent. Is a chance also given to the members of the depressed classes or educationally backward communities?"

* The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM:—"Unhesitatingly I say, yes."

"The Staff Selection Board makes its selections in such a way as to bring forward all members of backward communities who are fit for Government service at all. Of course it would not select or recommend a man with

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the minimum qualifications for the post of a deputy superintendent of police. But where such minor appointments as clerkships are concerned where the standard of education required can be attained, it does give every community a chance. I don't know if any member of the depressed classes has hitherto put in his application to the Staff Selection Board, but if that had not been done I would recommend him to put such application at once.

"Well Sir, while we have got rid of a weltering mass of resolutions recommending all sorts of incompatible claims regarding the proportion in which the various communities should be represented in the public services we are really not getting much further. There has been a general desire expressed that a committee should be appointed. But I don't think it is clear what that committee is for. The amendment of Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar that we are now discussing recommends that a committee of this House be appointed to inquire into and report as to the working of the policy laid down by the Government in G.O's. Nos. 658, dated 15th August 1922 and 76, dated 6th February 1924, and to suggest means to effectively provide for giving preference to competent candidates from communities which have not their due share of appointments in public service until the existing inequalities are removed. Now, Sir, it is perfectly easy to provide means to give preference to competent candidates from communities which have not their due share of appointments in public service. And really I take it that what is wanted is not so much a committee to devise means for the working of the G.O. No. 658, but to find out what the Council really wants. The only point on which there is an agreement is as to the appointment of a committee. Otherwise no two hon. Members have anything like similar ideas. Well, I have no objection to all the members interested in the matter forming themselves into a committee to formulate what they want. Government may then decide to what extent they can carry out their wishes. It is perfectly easy to devise means to carry out a policy when that policy is laid down. But we want to know what the Council really wants. Does it want that all Brahmans should henceforward be excluded from Government service. Surely you won't get an agreement on that point in the Council. What we want is the opinion of the Council. Is it the wish of the Council that the Brahmans should be excluded?"

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA FILIAI :—"No."

Diwan Bahadur Sir P. TYAGARAYA CHETTIYAR :—"Nobody says that. What we say is that the required result is not forthcoming. What is the reason? Let this committee inquire into the matter. The thing is so easy."

* The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—"The complaint is that the periodical returns published under that Government Order do not show
 4 p.m. that there has been a sufficient, or what certain hon. Members consider, a sufficient change in the composition of the Government services. I should like to know what the Council considers a sufficient change. If it does not want all Brahmans to be excluded how does it expect the Government Order to work? I think that the statistics show quite clearly that the number of Brahmans that have been recruited since that Government Order is considerably less than it was before. The actual difference in the composition is very large. Considering the fact that the orders have been in force for two or three years it would be difficult to imagine a very much quicker rate of progress unless there was some order that all Brahmans

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should be excluded. Similarly, does it want that no Brahman's name should be considered for promotion? Does it want that members of the unrepresented classes should be taken into the services without regard to their qualifications or that similarly in disregard of qualifications or seniority, men should be pitchforked into the highest positions? I do not think that anybody has expressed or would express such an extreme view as that. But I should like to know what the hon. Members expected to be the result of the Government Order and why they think that it has not answered their expectations. My own opinion is that if the Council or a really representative committee of the Council ever did come to an agreed conclusion as to what is necessary it would be found that that conclusion is already embodied in the orders issued by Government. I would very much prefer therefore instead of a formal committee that members interested should form themselves into a committee and let the Government know exactly what it is that they want."

* Rai Bahadur Sir K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU :—" Mr. President, Sir, watching the debate as I did and finding very little difference of opinion amongst the members of this House, I expected that the Government would tell this House something of the difficulties that they had felt in administering that Government Order with which so many of us have been disappointed; not with the language of it, not with the original idea with which it was started, were we disappointed, for it was in accordance with the wishes of this House and in pursuance of a resolution moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Tanikachalam Chettiyar, but with the manner in which it was administered both in the headquarters and in the districts. Sir, the hon. Member for the University asks me for some examples. I can give them by scores. I will just start with the headquarters. There was some time ago, a Government Order issued and a correspondence followed it asking the Collectors of districts and other heads of administrative departments to submit names of non-Brahmans in the districts who were willing to come and serve in the Secretariat in Madras. May I ask how many such applications came in? May I ask how many have been taken and how many have been substituted? I have known persons, several of whom are willing, Sir, and ready to come here, and who have troubled me while in office and even while out of it to recommend to others, men who are willing and who I know are as good as those that now serve in the Secretariat. To my knowledge I am yet to come across a man who has been so taken. Well, Sir, the fate of that Government Order is equally the same in the districts. We have been told that efficiency would suffer, that Brahmans cannot be altogether excluded from service, that promotions cannot be refused to them on the sole ground that they are Brahmans. Well, Sir, if it had proceeded from any one other than the gentleman for whom I have the greatest respect I would have put it down as being due either to ignorance or misrepresentation. But with the regard that I have for the hon. the Finance Member, I won't put such a construction on that. But, Sir, I know this, that efficiency is an old bogey. It is a red rag placed in front of these poor non-Brahman bulls to scare them away for years and years. When the Ministry was placed in the hands of non-Brahmans we were told that non-Brahmans were unfit to manage a huge administration like this and the day would not be far off, when within one, three or four months, they would lay down the reins of office. They did not and they would not."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" They will not, certainly (laughter)."

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Rai Bahadur Sir K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU :—“They will not; they need not. Because they can govern the country (hear, hear). Well, Sir, when this non-official majority in the Legislative Councils by election was demanded there was the bogey of efficiency set up even then. I do not know what answer the hon. Member for the University will give to that. Will he admit that the present Council is in any way inferior to those nominated Councils of the pre-Reform days? Was not that bogey of efficiency raised at that time? Were there not members of communities who came forward and told that if their Houses were filled with elected members from all kinds of communities efficiency would suffer, that Indians could not govern themselves as well as they are governed by Europeans?”

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—“No, I did not advance the argument.”

Rai Bahadur Sir K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU :—“Not you, Sir. But there were others who did. You are not prepared to admit the correctness of that argument. Efficiency will in no way suffer and, Sir, it is not desired that efficiency should in any way suffer in filling up appointments. Our only case is that where you have got men equal in efficiency, where there are men whose qualifications are exactly equal to those of the community which has already been over-represented in public services, let them fill the places. I do not find that done, even though that condition has been fulfilled. Our complaint is not that the Brahmans are not excluded at all or that they are given promotions but that they should not get undeserving promotions simply because they have got themselves appointed previously, that the non-Brahman should not be excluded simply because he was a non-Brahman, because he had no god-father. Our present claim is that those non-Brahmans who were unjustly kept down hitherto be given their place in the administration. I can point out scores, nay, hundreds of men who have suffered so long in the past and whose services have not been recognized to this day. Well, Sir, every Member of the House was very much in earnest about the non-Brahman. They had no objection at all for any number of the non-Brahmans being appointed or promoted. But only let those who are in service not in any way suffer. That argument has been advanced with great force by my hon. Friends from Coimbatore and Cuddalore and in a way it was voiced by the hon. the Finance Member. It reminds me of an argument which was advanced at the time of the Lee Commission. In the Lee Commission certain proportions and percentages were offered and we were told that gradually, very gradually, Indians will be introduced in the services. And I know my hon. Friends who are now in the Opposition have been complaining that that time may never come. It has been pointed out that in the public services something like 40 or 50 per cent has been provided for Indians. But that 40 or 50 per cent cannot be reached for perhaps a century. Is the same argument repeated now by asking us not to interfere in any way with the Brahman or with the increments of all those that are actually in service. If in introducing this method of not interfering with existing incumbents the result is, as it is bound to be, that we are to be in the same state as we are at present for half or one full century, I say this is only a device to keep us off permanently and for ever. Without doing certainly injustice to those that deserve to be promoted we should at the same time look to the claims of those people and see that the time is reached, I do not say in a decade or two, when they have

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works; 28.50 had been used to pay three instalments towards the balance of the Provincial Loan Account taken over from the Government of India and 119.00 for fresh advances on the same account; .33 for industrial development; and 21.70 for unproductive works, including grants for water-supply and drainage. There remained 7.98 of the amounts borrowed to cover the revenue deficits in 1921-1922 and 1922-1923.

"It will no doubt have been observed that these figures do not tally with those given last year. The difference is due in part to corrections made since the accounts were finally made up and partly to the fact that certain adjustments expected by my predecessor have not yet materialized, notably the writing back to a capital head of 15.61 lakhs given as grants in 1921-1922 to local bodies for water-supply and drainage schemes and 7.68 representing capital expenditure in connexion with commercial concerns in 1921-1922, 1922-1923 and 1923-1924. The question is still under correspondence with the Government of India.

Revised Estimate, 1924-1925.

"With the anticipation that in 1924-1925 the revenue would exceed the expenditure by 15.18 lakhs and so enable us not only to meet the equated payments due on loans already taken but also to clear off what remained of our overdraft, the year that is now drawing to a close opened with high hopes for the future, in spite of the fact that we had not secured any reduction of our contribution to the Government of India. Very early however it became necessary to utter a warning to the departments of Government that an era of expansion had not yet begun. It had to be realized that, though there was a prospect that the revenue of the year would exceed the expenditure by a small amount, there was no indication that, in the years to come, the revenue would grow in a measure to cover what are inevitable increases of expenditure. Among these may be mentioned the operation of the incremental scales which have been introduced into nearly all branches of the Government services, and have not yet reached what can be regarded as a constant figure; the added liabilities which each year brings for the repayment of money borrowed and the payment of interest; and the commitments under the Elementary Education Act. The bulk of the receipts come from Land Revenue and Excise and while the naturally slow expansion of the former is retarded by restrictions placed on settlement enhancements and the postponement of resettlements, the latter shows signs of decline as a result of experiments designed to reduce the consumption of drink. If these experiments, or any that are made hereafter really bring about a decrease of drunkenness, the result

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should be carried on by people who know me, who know my parents, who know my ancestry, who know the conditions of my life, the manner in which we live', is it necessary, I ask, to go to the bread and salary theory in order to understand the claims thus made all these years?

"There is yet another aspect from which I should like to deal with the question. And that is, why we, non-Brahmans claim to have equal share in the administration. It is not because we want bread. Thank God, we have got bread enough. We give bread to others. We produce what corn is produced in the land; it is we that feed the other people of the country. We are not in need of bread. But we want this communal representation because we feel that unless there is an equalization in

4-15 p.m. the administration of this country, equalization of all classes and communities, that sense of equality will not be created and without that sense of equality, a real nationhood cannot be formed in this country. The reason why we say that these depressed classes should come to us, the reason why we extend our hands to them—I know that it is as important to-day to support the cause of the non-Brahman as that of the depressed classes—that reason is this: it is because unless some classes of the society are raised higher towards the top and others who are higher come a little lower down, there cannot be that equality which alone can cement and solidify a people into a single nation. The cry has been raised, and we have been trying in our own way to meet it, that India is not one nation. Yes, India will not be one nation so long as the ruling power is an oligarchy or a single caste (hear, hear), call that the European caste or the Brahman caste (cheers). It must be a Government with equal opportunities for all. Equality can be created only when equal opportunities are afforded to all people. Be it noted we do not want more than equal opportunities by means of this resolution—it is not in the least our desire that the Brahmans should be excluded or that Brahmans should be debarred from having those opportunities. Far be it from our minds that we desire any such thing. But it is certainly our desire that we must have our own share. Have we not got competent men among us, men as good as they are, men who can discharge their duties as efficiently as the Brahmans? Then I say not only in the interests of the non-Brahmans but in the interests of this country, we ought to be given these places. The hon. the Finance Member said that he could not quite see what the purpose of this resolution was and what this committee was for. On the other hand, as I told the House, I expected Government would tell us something of the difficulties which they experienced in the administration of the Government Order. The fact remains, as I told you, that the Government Order is more or less a dead letter. No doubt, the hon. the Finance Member has told us that there has been some improvement in the matter of newly introducing candidates into the services. But, taking the proportion as a whole, taking all existing services and new recruits, is it denied that in the whole Presidency, the proportion of a particular community is still unduly large? Is it pretended that there are not non-Brahmans who are capable of discharging special duties in connexion with special appointments? How many such appointments have been made in the last two years, and if not, what are the difficulties in your way? If you are able to tell us what those difficulties are, certainly we are prepared to come to your help and lend our helping hand in the solution; we shall join hands with the Government in seeing

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that those difficulties are removed. And this resolution is only meant for this: 'Give us an opportunity of meeting together, of seeing what your difficulties were, what our difficulties have been, and if there is a *via media* possible; and if so to give effect to that principle.' It is not that this Government would accept everything that the Committee may recommend; they are not bound to accept everything that the Committee wants. The Committee would represent to Government what its views are, and the last word on the matter will be with the Government. I know of cases where, though they have appointed committees, the Government have managed to get over and supersede their decisions. Quite recently in the Law College, a non-Brahman was nominated by a committee consisting of no less a personage than the hon. the Chief Justice of the High Court and also other judges, very eminent judges, and when the report came, we found that the non-Brahman's name was coolly withdrawn and an outsider—and the meaning of that expression will be well-known to those who go to the race-course—(cries of 'No, no') an outsider, a mufassalite, a briefless lawyer was preferred to a Madras non-Brahman vakil and I do not know why. Well, Sir, I say it is to avoid such occurrences as this that we want this Committee. We want to bring these cases to the notice of this Committee. We want to point out to this Committee the difficulties which the people are experiencing in this country.

"Just one other point, Sir, and I have done. I am afraid I have taken more time than I should. I may say, Sir, that this agitation has done more harm than good to the non-Brahmans (hear, hear). Events have occurred in the mufassal which I may just refer to. If any injustice is done to a non-Brahman, and if he goes to the Brahman tahsildar or deputy collector and explains what he has suffered, these superiors say 'Well, you go to your Minister and complain'. And in one case I know that four non-Brahmans in a single division of the Agency were by one stroke of the pen transferred to the interior; for what reason, I cannot tell. I tried my utmost to make inquiries into the matter. All those whom I consulted in regard to this matter were telling me that it was a grossly unjust order, and that the non-Brahmans were turned out of a certain place and sent into the interior of the Agency for no other reason that I know of, except the one of their being born non-Brahmans. Well, Sir, all this agitation which has been going on, and, as I said, the principle of which has been well accepted on the other side and favourably viewed by the Government has not produced any results so far as we can see from the facts placed before us. But it has resulted in this that scores and hundreds of non-Brahmans are experiencing difficulties and injustice and are suffering miseries for which we here are responsible by reason of this agitation

"Well, Sir, I have done. I would only say this thing. It appears from the attitude on all sides that there is a good will and that all are willing to see that the non-Brahmans succeed in getting what they want. May I just repeat what Macaulay said: 'Sweet words do not butter parsnips'. And if the question be how best to make those vegetables palatable, one pound of butter will be worth a hundred tons of sweet words. Cease these sweet words. Come to action and see that something real and substantial is done, and then the meed of praise shall be yours (cheers)"

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"Mr. President, Sir, I am afraid the position of a Brahman in this Council in a debate of this kind is a very difficult and

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really a very delicate one. On the one hand, whatever he says is likely to be put down as an anxiety to protect the real or fancied interests of his own community, the interests either of those already in service or of those aspiring for service. On the other hand, if he tries to be just, it is just possible that a few members of his own community may put him down as trying to play to the gallery and not standing by the interests of his own community. That is why I had hoped, as a matter of fact, that the discussion would so proceed as not to call for any observations to be made by Brahman members of this Council. And I must say, Sir, till the hon. the Finance Member rose to speak, the discussion had gone on in such a way as to convince me and a few other friends here that there was no need for our intervention in the debate. But the hon. the Finance Member and even the previous speaker have introduced so many irrelevant considerations, if I may say so with all respect, that I feel that I owe it to myself, to the community to which I have the honour to belong, and also to this Council that I should say a few words for the consideration of this honourable House. Now, what the hon. the Finance Member said may be summed up in a few words. He has first made a great point about the need for efficiency in the public service. I entirely agree with him, but I must say this: it will be taken for granted that any unbearded English youth can be fit to occupy any post; though he knows nothing of the language of the country, though he is unacquainted with the manners and customs of the place, he can ride over the shoulders of most experienced sarishtadars and most capable judges and magistrates who know everything and have been trained in this country. Whereas those who are born and bred up in this country are put down as wanting in efficiency according to certain definite or indefinite standards in the matter of promotion or appointment. I should like to know from the hon. the Finance Member why it is that he considers that a diploma of the University should be a qualification for a job in Government service. I have known graduates who proved indifferent servants in Government service, and I have also known non-graduates who have made very good Government servants, and after all, the question of qualification is a matter entirely dependent on what Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar has quoted from Lord Curzon's despatch, namely, upbringing, surroundings, training and so on. It is easy to make too much of this cry of efficiency, and I have always a suspicion, if I may say so frankly, when Government tries to intervene in the distribution of such jobs and tries to hold the scales even, that it is a good case of the old doctrine well known in this country, *Divide et impera*, or 'Divide and rule'. I am not going in detail into the truth of it, but I say it is time that this matter is settled between the two communities and the Government are allowed to step in to protect the interests of the one community or the other, because we know that the Government, whatever they may be, will protect the interests of neither the one nor the other. And I do hope that the other side will learn, as quickly as we have learnt and are still learning, the truth of this. I entirely agree with the hon. the Finance Member, however, when he said that the Staff Selection Board would go into this question. I would only hope that the Government would use their best endeavours to see that a Public Service Commission is appointed as soon as possible.

"Having said that, I may pass over that point. But I wish to join issue with my hon. Friend Sir K. Venkatarreddi when in his enthusiasm he compared the Brahman to the European. He said that we are not

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familiar with our own brethren and that we cannot govern them any more than Europeans can govern us. With regard to the latter half of his remark I entirely agree, but when he goes forward and says that we Brahmans do not know our own countrymen, I must join issue with him respectfully. I admit I am not familiar with his part of the country, but I am quite familiar with my part of the country and I know this much : there are many Brahmans, hundreds and thousands of them, who are on intimate, peaceful and brotherly terms with many hundreds and thousands of non-Brahmans. They know their mode of living. They know how they live, move and have their being. They talk the same language as the non-Brahmans. They bathe in the same tank ; they worship in the same temple and practically they live the same lives together. And to suggest that we are a different community who cannot understand the non-Brahman is but a great injustice, to say the least. Again, may I ask in all humility, who are the ' non-Brahmans ' ? Do they inter-marry ? There are hundreds of sects among them who cannot inter-marry or inter-dine. I had hoped that in our anxiety to satisfy our reasonable hopes, we would not create further divisions amongst us. We, Brahmans, are of you, and you are of us, and no amount of logic or argument can ignore these facts. We are here for thousands of years, and we are going to be here, God willing, for thousands of years more . . ."

Diwan Bahadur Sir P. TYAGARAYA CHETTIYAR :—" And we admit, Sir, that we are slaves of the hon. Member's community."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" Sir P. T. Chettiyar admits he is a slave, but he and I are slaves of the British Government. He and I are slaves I know, but I hope he and I are friends also. He admits that he is fettered, but I only wish he changes the name of the master. Then, based upon this argument my hon. Friend Sir K. Venkatarreddi went on to say that there would be no safety in this country so long as it is governed by a caste. Now, Sir, I entirely agree that so far as Government service is concerned, it ought not to be the monopoly of any particular community. And after all, countries outside India are also being governed efficiently ; why should you lay down that in India alone the heavens will fall if the non-Brahmans get their adequate representation in the services. Having said that, I may say that the hon. the Finance Member stands on very strong ground when he expressed his desire to know what it is that we really want in addition to the remedy already provided. It seems to me that we are all agreed on the principle contained in the resolution. The Government are agreed because they are working a non-Brahman Ministry. Their strength is in that Ministry. They have made their bed and they must lie on it, and they are committed to that principle whether they like it or not. The Justice party is committed to it. We, Nationalists, are committed to it by conviction and persuasion that we must see to it that communities other than those already over-represented in the services must get adequate protection or promotion until the inequality is redressed. Having said that, the question remains what more has got to be done. My hon. Friend Sir K. Venkatarreddi has given instances, without any names, of people whose claims have been overlooked in spite of this Government Order. Well, if that is so, I hope this Committee will investigate those facts, find out in what cases injustice has occurred, and recommend the remedy. We heard about the Law College case, and I only wish that Sir K. Venkatarreddi would support the motion

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in case a reduction of the salaries of Ministers is proposed. There is no use in saying”

*Rai Bahadur Sir K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU :—“ Sir, I may say that I cannot be so easily drawn into such challenges as that. I shall certainly support the case in any committee that may be appointed in the cause of the non-Brahmans. As for the Ministers, you may leave them to myself, and I will cross swords with them if necessary.”

*Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—“ My complaint is that you do not care at all. I would only repeat my hon. Friend's words. If you are not going to be drawn into it, you will be only making a speech shouting at the hon. the Finance Member, but you will not be doing any thing to control the Ministers. Do you think you can receive the support of the whole non-Brahman community if you make speeches against the Reserved Departments but when the question of Transferred Departments comes you will see that it is settled with the Ministry ?”

*Rai Bahadur Sir K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU :—“ May I just make a personal explanation, Sir, with regard to what my hon. Friend the Member for the University of Madras has been saying. With reference to the Law College appointment, I may say that the non-Brahman who was recommended by the College Committee was removed by the Minister and a Berhampur Brahman was put in his place.”

*Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—“ Why not therefore reduce the Minister's salary and compel him to work in accordance with your policy ? That is the means by which you can do it, but not by shouting at the poor Finance Member, who can do nothing in the matter. What can he do ? He is a permanent Member of the Government. Therefore, why not reduce the Minister's salary and Sir K. Venkatarreddi take his place ? Many people would join to support him.

“ I know you want merely to capture the votes of the non-Brahman electors by shouting here to show that you are doing something for them. Why not tell them plainly ‘ We have been here for five years and we have failed to do anything ’. If the non-Brahman members of this House will do nothing more than shouting from here, I say give us a chance in the executive. . . .”

Rai Bahadur Sir K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU :—“ May I say that the one best method by which the Brahmans can help us in this Committee is by honestly coming forward and saying ‘ we do not want these appointments, these loaves, these fishes, for a number of years, say, ten years ; let them enjoy for themselves ’ ? Let the Brahmans in this House say that.”

Mr. P. ANJANEYULU PANTULU :—“ On a point of order, Sir, may I know if the hon. Member, Sir Venkatarreddi Nayudu, is in order in throwing out a challenge to Brahman members by interrupting a member speaking on a resolution ?”

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—“ I am very glad that the cat is out of the bag. When the hon. the Finance Member asked on what principle he can keep out the Brahmans, there was an uproar from every side of the House and member after member said that he was asking for nothing of that kind.

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Now, Sir, Sir Venkatarreddi Nayudu says 'Let Brahmans say we do not want these appointments'. Why should he not get up and say in this House or elsewhere that for ten years no Brahmans shall be appointed?"

Rao Bahadur O. TANIKACHALA CHETTIYAR:—"May I point out that in the resolution which I originally brought forward, to which nobody agreed, I said that for seven years no appointments from Brahmans shall take place, and that is why we agreed to the issuing of that Government Order?"

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"I am glad that at least Mr. Tanikachala Chettiyar came forward in his usual vigour to state the possibility of keeping out a whole community from the service for five, six or seven years."

Rao Bahadur O. TANIKACHALA CHETTIYAR:—"Mysore, Sir, has done it and I only wanted our Government to follow a model State like Mysore in saying that. I was not saying anything chimerical but what was being accepted as practical politics in a neighbouring State of ours and I wanted to bring this to the notice of this Government."

Rai Bahadur Sir K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU:—"All these years, there was no such defence put forward as is now done by the hon. Member for the University."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"If really I were in a position to speak on behalf of the whole of the Brahman community and if, as my hon. Friend Sir Venkatarreddi Nayudu wants it, I can commit the whole community to it, I shall advise them not to care for these appointments not only for seven years, but for seventy years."

Rao Bahadur O. TANIKACHALA CHETTIYAR:—"So also said Sir K. Srinivasa Ayyangar. But it was not given effect to."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"I am not so great as Sir K. Srinivasa Ayyangar. But I am a humble being. I do not think it is practical politics for any Government, even for a Government with Sir K. Venkatarreddi Nayudu as Minister once more or with Mr. Tanikachala Chettiar as Minister, to say that a whole community shall be debarred from Government service. It is politics of despair; it is politics of cynicism; it is not practical politics at all."

Rai Bahadur Sir K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU:—"It is very easy to start a theory and then demolish it. Why should he presume such a thing? It is not our object."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"Mr. Tanikachala Chettiyar has said it and it is his object. He has given us the example of the model State of Mysore. Now I am attacking that theory and pointing out that it is impossible to keep out any community and that it is not practical politics because the same turn will come to you to-morrow. There are communities and communities, and Mr. Veerian will be perfectly justified five years hence to come and say that hereafter no non-Brahman Hindu shall enter Government service. I really want to know if that is the way how you would suggest a solution of the problem."

"I do not want to take up any more time. I only want to say this. My hon. Friend Mr. Veerian says that this problem could be solved only by love and not by hate. May I appeal to my hon. Friends on the other side and say that this is a problem to be settled not by acrimonious discussion but by a principle of give and take? After all we have got to live in this

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country, we have got to live as friends and as brothers, and while we are fighting, the foreigner is lifting his eyes and strengthening his death-hold over the nation. Are we going to be parties to that game? This time I do suggest to friends on both sides of the House to tackle the problem as statesmen, as sons of the same mother and remember that after all no community is going to get any extraordinary advancement by Government service. It comes with ill grace for a member of the Brahman community to say it, and I belong to that community. But I still can detach myself and say that we are attaching an exaggerated importance to Government service. By all means let each community have its share. But I am sure there is a lesson which each community will, sooner than we can imagine, learn that Government service is not the salvation of any community. Till that is done, let us agree to the distribution of this patronage so as not to produce any sense of exclusion on either side, and let us not forget that we have to tackle very grave and serious national problems and that we have to face a strong alien Government. I confess it as a Swarajist, and I should like to point out that every ounce of energy that we have must be concentrated upon the winning of Swaraj. That cannot be done unless all communities love one another. I feel that this problem should be solved at once and that is why I am unwilling to let this opportunity go. But after having solved this, I am not going to stop there. I want that all communities, Brahmans and non-Brahmans, Hindus and Muhammadans, Christians and depressed classes must join together in one mighty battle for winning Swaraj. That is why I support the appointment of a committee."

Mr. P. N. MARTHANDAM PILLAI:—"On an occasion like this, I do not want to say anything which will embitter the feeling of any one in this House, and I do not want to follow the hon. Member from Cuddapah in that respect. I am rather surprised at the attitude taken up by the hon. the Finance Member; when every section of the House is agreed upon finding a solution for the very intricate and troublesome problem that is existing in this province, and when we are willing to find a very peaceful solution to satisfy all communities I do not know why the hon. the Finance Member is opposed to such a thing. I expected the Member for Government to say that they were here to give effect loyally to whatever resolution we may come to. If that had been the attitude of the hon. Member for the Government, we will have absolutely nothing to say against it. But the theory of efficiency is trotted out when we want to fix a proportion for the unrepresented classes. I know that this theory of efficiency is a vague and wiry theory which may be played any way in individual hands. If the hon. Member for the University is the Member in charge or is the man vested with this patronage, the direction of efficiency will be in a particular way, and if my hon. Friend Mr. Ghouse Mian Sahib is in charge, the direction of efficiency will be in some other direction. Then, Sir, if I may so respectfully put it, if I am in charge of the department, the direction of efficiency will be in a particular way. (Laughter.) I will not say in what direction it will be, Sir. Every Member of this House knows it and some Members have even complained against the direction in which efficiency is now travelling.

"Sir, it was suggested that vested interests ought not to be affected. I entirely agree with that proposition. In law it is an accepted principle that vested interests ought not to be disturbed. As a lawyer I bow to that

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proposition and accept it in a right loyal fashion. But the difficulty is this: are you going to allow it to such large extent that it creates gross inequalities, because at every turn you find yourself up against vested interests? As my hon. Friend for the University said very rightly this is a resolution in which we are agreed to give and take. I do say that vested interests will be affected and we shall not conceal the fact that vested interests will be affected. But if we are not prepared to touch those communities in the enjoyment of official preferments, we must also understand that there are others who are anxious to get into service. Therefore let us make room for these communities and we will be satisfied if equality is effected. My hon. Friend Mr. Veerian said that the educational qualifications of the depressed classes should be put at a level lower than those for the other classes. I personally think that we can very well agree to that proposition. For if we apply the tests of efficiency in particular communities to Adi-Dravidas and other depressed classes, I am perfectly sure those communities will not be capable of producing even half a dozen men for the services. What is the use of applying Oxford tests for these communities? After all, as my hon. Friend, Mr. Tanikachala Othettiyar said the efficiency in a particular community cannot be determined. It is only the individual efficiency that can be determined, and it is possible only in a vague manner to estimate what the amount of efficiency in a particular community is. So, in the case of the depressed classes we can relax the standard by which we judge other communities.

"Sir, I only want to say this before I sit down that unless the Government take it into their head to right loyally work out the conclusion which this committee will come to, I think there is no use in appointing a committee or in the committee coming to any definite conclusions in the matter. The committee will be composed of trusted members of this House and their opinion can be safely relied on, and if Government is anxious to respect the legitimate opinion of this House they cannot do better than by loyally carrying out the recommendation of this committee. With these few words I have great pleasure in supporting this amendment."

*Mr. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR :—"Sir, I do not want to import into the discussion any communal rancour. I want this question to be settled as early as possible, because I find these disputes stand in the way of our working together for bigger ends. Nobody, Sir, has suggested that one community should for some time or for any long time be debarred altogether from employment in Government service. I do say, Sir, that it would be a very wrong policy to pursue. No community, however large in numbers, has a right to be altogether so tyrannical in these matters. But it is possible, I think, in making initial appointments to prescribe a higher percentage of appointments in the case of unrepresented or inadequately represented communities for some time to come, so that these inequalities may diminish in course of time. But we cannot follow the same principle in regard to promotions because those people who are already employed in the public service have a right to expect advancement in the usual course of things, and I do not think, Sir, because of these inequalities for which they are not responsible, we can penalize them. At the same time some attempt has to be made to reduce the present inequality gradually. To bring about a readjustment in course of time we even allow definitely a particular proportion

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of vacancies in the higher grades to be filled according to the seniority of the officers and a certain percentage by special selection from communities which are not adequately represented. Above all, initial appointments in every case must, I submit, be made by competitive tests and not from considerations of favouritism or partiality. However, I do not think it will be possible for us to emphasize or apply this principle to all grades without regard to the fact whether the appointments are of the lower grade or of the higher grade.

“ Take for example, Sir, the case of the Executive Councillors who are few in number. In such cases where the appointments are very few
4-45 p.m. we can never satisfy the communal aspirations. So I suggest that in regard only to grades having a large number of appointments such communal considerations might weigh but in the other cases where they are very few, communal considerations must not at all be taken into account and the best possible appointment should always be made. Otherwise, we shall be doing a disservice to the tax-payer on whose behalf my hon. Friend, Sir K. V. Reddi, made a vehement appeal. Just consider if we shall be justified in appointing to the highest post under the Government a person merely because he belongs to a particular community when we have more able and better qualified applicants to discharge the duties of the office. In regard to the bigger posts we must draw the line somewhere where communal considerations should cease to apply.

“ Lastly, I must object to this artificial division sought to be created by interested parties between one community and another. I really fail to understand what single community or communities are contemplated when people are speaking of non-Brahmans. I know of non-Brahman communities, I am sorry to say that, who are as far divided from each other as any Brahman and non-Brahman communities. You must endeavour to do justice to all and not show consideration to a few favoured communities but to all communities which by an accident to-day are not able to assert or express themselves. For all these purposes, a committee is necessary which should go into all questions and face all issues squarely and find a solution for the various problems. I am very sorry the hon. the Finance Member does not see his way to accept the proposition that has been advanced to-day. He suggests that the hon. Members should form themselves into a committee. Well, Sir, may I know what would be the authority behind such a committee? Could they go and inspect the records in any office and can they ask the Collectors to produce papers for their perusal? It is to give this authority that a committee of which the hon. the Finance Member will be a member, is required. I very much hope that the hon. the Finance Member will reconsider his attitude and accede to the appointment of such a committee as has been suggested as I believe that the committee will be reasonable and acceptable to all sections of the House.”

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI:—“ Sir, I should like to give my support to the resolution as amended. And, in doing so, I want to bring to the notice of this Council two very remarkable facts disclosed in this debate. The first to which reference was made by my hon. Friend Mr. Thanikachala Chettiyar, and others, is the remarkable amount of unanimity that exists among the different sides and sections of this House as regards the desirability of the

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inquiry of the kind contemplated. And the second thing equally remarkable in its own way is the somewhat discordant note struck by my hon. Friend the Finance Member with respect to the entire field traversed. I should have thought that when a debate on this very difficult and intricate matter proceeded on the lines it did, he as a Member of Government would have come forward and tried to meet our wishes, so that, taking advantage of the atmosphere of concord that now prevails, he might get over the difficulty and find an equitable settlement arrived at or, if the Government Order has worked successfully as he contends, prove that fact to a committee so constituted and wipe off the suspicion which exists with reason or without reason and founded on good ground or insufficient ground or no ground, so that such a suspicion might cease to be whispered. My hon. Friend from Coimbatore and the other members of the party to which I have the honour to belong have all conceded the point of the Mover that there is an amount of dissatisfaction with respect to the manner in which a party which is really more than half a century old has been treated. Brahman and non-Brahman have all agreed that an inquiry was desirable provided that is conducted with due caution and so as not to exacerbate communal feelings, or create jealousies and rivalries needlessly. My hon. Friend the Finance Member asks what can a committee constituted now do? He himself admits that the change brought about under these orders may not possibly be regarded by some as sufficient or sufficiently large. As a mathematician, he says that compared with the total number in the services the readjustment that is brought about must naturally be a very small number. I put it to him that that is a point on which a committee constituted by the common consent of all the parties will be of great help to him, to the Government and to the country (hear, hear). He might show them what the total number of appointments are, how many vacancies occurred normally during a year, how they are filled up and how under the operation of these new Government orders the adjustments could not be as large as now expected; upon all these points the committee could be furnished information and, if they are satisfied that they are as large as possible, I do not suppose that any one of us would be so cantankerous as to quarrel with the Government any further. The whole point, Mr. President, is this. The people are anxious for a settlement which would carry conviction on this subject for two reasons. One is, a large number on this side of the House and not a few on the other side would like to see this problem put away so that other and bigger questions might be taken up (hear, hear). The other thing is this. Some of us feel that it is because sufficient light has not been thrown on all the processes concerned that there is this room for suspicion over this matter. If a committee like this could be taken into full confidence by the Government and if they will assure the committee that all that is possible is being done by producing the number of applications which have been received both in the mufassal and in the headquarters, by the nature of the scrutiny involved whether these applications were examined by a single official or by a representative committee appointed by direction of the Government official (those are matters certainly relevant to this issue), if this is done and if the *bona fides* are proved, I do not think we need ask for anything more. I accept the statement of both sides of the House that there is no desire to inflict any injustice on any one community. But I entirely demur to the argument of my hon. friend Sir K. V. Reddi when in answer to the hon. the Finance

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Member he said (I put it in a short form) that as the Britisher is to the Indian so the Brahman is to the rest of us. I can understand a European, an Englishman, when he applies the test of efficiency so far as Indians are concerned, and as between Indians themselves. But as to the question of Indians among themselves, I cannot understand these abstract, ethical standards or standards of efficiency. But suppose as a nationalist I am to apply to my own countrymen, no matter to what caste they belong, the identical test which according to the ethics and principles of the word elsewhere can only be applied as between different nationalities and could be applied only by an Indian to an Englishman or by an Englishman to an Indian? We are not prepared as Nationalists to do so and our whole demeanour, attitude, gesture would be identical with that . . ."

Rai Bahadur Sir K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU :—"How can the theory of efficiency differ in the two cases, Sir?"

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI :—"Because as between my own nationality and other nationalities, I want my men irrespective of efficiency. But as between men of my own nationality, I would certainly place some regard for efficiency. If my hon. Friend cannot concede so much, then all I can say is so far as that question is concerned I dare say an Englishman wishing to support an Indian merely on the ground of efficiency will be perfectly relevant and justifiable as a British nationalist, and that is the identical attitude I would adopt. I entirely agree with my hon. Friend for the University when he said that the importance assumed of office is growing less and will grow less as democracy progresses in our country. But I cannot agree with the hon. the Finance Member in saying that at the present time it is merely a question of loaves and fishes of office. It is something more marvellous. We have to view efficiency from a social point. Unfortunately our country has been under a bureaucracy, under a bureaucratic system of Government, a sort of centralized system of bureaucracy where all influence and power is asserted by office and office alone. Therefore, I think, until self-government makes greater progress this is bound to assume a big importance such as it does not assume in England. If the hon. the Finance Member wants to reduce the importance of office let him promote self-government and this would disappear of its own accord.

"Well, Sir, my attention is being called to the progress of the hand of the clock there. I do not wish to detain the House any longer.

"We look upon this as a means to the end. We want a settlement
6 p.m. between ourselves. We want to approach this question in a spirit of fairness and equity, something more than give and take. We do not want any bargain. What we want to know is this: taking all facts into consideration, what sort of settlement would be best for us to have, so that this question may not be raised again? There is no use saying, 'you constitute yourselves into a committee and let us know what you want.' We want the hon. the Finance Member to be a member of that committee; we want all the Executive Councillors to be there. We want also the hon. the Minister for Education to be there (loud laughter) to explain the position of the Berhampur Brahman. They may have their difficulties ('hear, hear'). We must enter in a spirit of sympathy into this question and try to arrive at some kind of settlement, without serious impairment

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of efficiency, with due regard to the larger considerations attached to office in our country, and the political aspects the question has assumed—which whether right or wrong, you cannot ignore, but must recognize to be a fact. I earnestly hope that Government will accept this resolution and try to help us when we are honestly engaged in composing our differences and do something which would be a good step in the onward march of our country and in our nation-building.”

Rao Bahadur O. TANIKACHALA CHETTIYAR:—“I beg to move for a closure.”

Rao Bahadur C. NATESA MUDALIYAR:—“Mr. President, the Leader of the Opposition asks me to finish my speech within five minutes and I think I shall not take even that time. I am extremely sorry the Brahman-Non-Brahman question was brought into the discussion to-day. My resolution was one of love; my resolution was an attempt at evolving concord out of chaos that is existing in our country; my resolution is an attempt at developing a homogeneous whole of an Indian nation out of the heterogeneous variety of masses that exist to-day. So, Sir, I thought all the Nationalists, all the Swarajists would help me in carrying out my resolution; but I am extremely sorry that an amendment has been proposed by my hon. Friend Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar. I have to accept it because the whole House is for it. (Laughter.) Sir, individuals perish, communities may cease to exist, but society lives and humanity survives for ever. (‘Hear, hear.’) Our duty is clear, we must sink individual selfishness, communal selfishness and realize that each individual lives for other individuals and each community for other communities and all communities, for humanity in general. There should be individual adjustments and communal adjustments. So, I am very glad that my Friend Mr. Satyamurti has come forward to support this resolution wholeheartedly. But one Satyamurti does not make his whole community. I wish my Friend Mr. Satyamurti goes about the country and preaches that the salvation of our country depends on communal representation, that national unity depends on communal representation. (Laughter.) Sir, I said, on a former occasion, unfortunately, there are in our country caste tight, community tight and race tight compartments and between members of one community and those of another community, there is as much difference as there is between these communities and any people that came to settle in our land which statement was taken exception to. I ask, Sir, between members of my own community (Vellala) and members of the community to which my Friend M. C. Raja belongs, what is there in common? Is there inter-dining, is there inter-marrying, is there inter-worshipping (laughter)? On the other hand, we give more privileges to people settled in our land, than we give to the depressed classes. We allow Europeans to go as far as our Dwajasthambam in our temples and allow them to go through streets through which our own members of the depressed classes are not allowed.

“Only one word, Sir. My friend Mr. Saldanha was telling us and Mr. Venkataramana Ayyangar echoed him, that appointments should be distributed according to educational qualifications. Sir, if all the graduates turned out from our University are to be employed, there are no employments under our Government. (Hear, hear.) I tabled this resolution not because of the money, value attached to appointments, not because that I wanted

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that compensation should be given to the parents that educated their children, but it is to give some influence to various communities, to create a status and give some power in their hands. Sir, Government appointments, however low they may be, exert their own influence in the land. It is a power in the land. It is not the Law Member that is in evidence in the country, but it is the sub-inspector of police. It is not the Revenue Member that is felt in a taluk, but the revenue inspector. It is not the Irrigation Member or the Public Works Minister that is holding the mirasidar in terror, it is the Public Works and the irrigation overseer. It is this power that all the communities want in their hands. The wealth producing communities in this land, the depressed classes, the ryots and other communities in whom industry is a hereditary avocation, it is these communities that want that power in their hands. When the committee sits to discuss the percentage of appointments they should take into consideration the numerical strength and tax-paying capacity of these communities, but the latter should not be taken into consideration in the case of depressed classes as the depressed classes have been denied all privileges for a very long time, for over two thousand years. It is to take note of these and to effect a compromise that the committee is intended. Sir, I am sorry that a discordant note in this most acceptable resolution was sounded by my hon. Friend Mr. Narasimhacharlu. I am sorry that this discordant note came from a member belonging to a community which was intended to be most cosmopolitan by its sacred fount (Hear, hear). This is an attempt to striking at the root of social and political injustice. Social and religious inequalities have existed in our country from time immemorial, from the time of Buddha to that of Ramanuja, and further down and they attempted to strike at the root of these inequalities. When kings were everything and people were nothing they were directed to levelling up social and religious inequalities. Now, Sir, when a democratic form of Government, the British Government, came to rule over us, it recognized immediately the inequalities and wanted to give political equalities by distributing their patronage among the various communities. This was done nearly three quarters of a century ago as was evidenced in Board's Standing Order 1854. It was the then paternal British Government that did it. Such were the officers of the Government then. I am extremely sorry to see that the officers of the present Government are very different from those that existed then. (Laughter.) Look at that picture and this. Those people who recognized the necessity and equity of communal representation and these people who will not give us communal representation even though for the third time it is brought into this Council. There is another thing that I want to say a word about. My Friend Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar this morning said that one community gets 40 per cent according to the resolution and so these things ought to be gone into in detail. But the community for which I wanted 40 per cent is a community that comprises 70 per cent of the population and pays 75 per cent of the revenue, in fact that community should get a larger share but that community has always sacrificed for the benefit of other communities. So I marked only 40 per cent for that community. With these words—(I am asked by the Leader of the Opposition to sit down)—I commend the motion to the acceptance of this House."

The motion of Rao Bahadur C. Natesa Mudaliyar as amended by Rao Bahadur T. A. Ramalinga Chettiyar was put and carried.